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SUBSTANCE
OF THE
SPEECH
OF
THO. JONES, ESQ.
F. R. S. F. A. S. & M. P.
ON
HIS MOTION FOR
PEACE,
Made in the House of Commons, May 8, 1800:
WITH
A COPY OF THE ADDRESS MOVED FOR BY
HIM TO HIS MAJESTY.

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1800.

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THOMAS JONES, ESQ.

SIR,

I RISE, in consequence of a notice given some days since, to bring forward a Motion on the subject of the present War with the REPUBLIC of FRANCE. This, Sir, is a very awful moment for me: No man, I will ven-

ture to state, Mr. Speaker, ever addressed you under greater difficulties and disadvantages—But, Sir, I have great confidence in the justice of my cause; I have a strong reliance on the candour and indulgence of this House: and, furthermore, I trust much to that PROVIDENCE which has prompted me (and which alone has prompted me) to bring forward the Motion which I shall have the honour to present to this House (in the shape of an Address to His Majesty) this night, for its acceptance or rejection.

I assure the House, that I shall compress what I have to say in as short a compass as the magnitude and importance of the subject will allow of.

Moreover, Sir, before I proceed further, I wish to be most thoroughly understood on this occasion. I do assure the House, that if, for one moment, I conceived our Laws, our Liberties, our Religion, or one atom of our most glorious Constitution, were in danger, I would not stand up here for the purpose which I do now ; but I would support the War, and the counsels which conduct it, with the same zeal and firmness, and resolution, which I did within these walls, and without them, when I conceived they *all* really were.

In a just and necessary War, to support the interests and the honour of my Country, I would undergo the severest privations, and recommend it to others

so to do; but in what I conceive an unjust, an unnecessary, and an impracticable pursuit, I think it my most bounden duty to recommend such counsels as shall produce a negociation for PEACE.

I After eight years of a War of various expedients and complexions, and not without intermediate negociations, a new ÆRA of the War appears—His Majesty's Ministers, by not LISTENING to the proposals of Peace, have at length pulled off the mask, flung away the scabbard, and commenced what I must denominate (and as such denounce) a *Bellum Bourboninum*.

Sir, if this point should be disputed, I would ask the Minister, distinctly,

for what object we are at war? I wish to bring this point to issue. I want to know, plainly, for what object on earth the People of England are groaning under an *unprecedented* and *inquisitorial* system of taxation; and for what object His Majesty's Ministers are at this moment promoting the common carnage of their fellow-creatures, almost over the whole world, with BRITISH GOLD; if it be not for the re-establishment of the ANCIENT GOVERNMENT OF FRANCE?

Sir, are we contending for the sovereignty of the Seas? Thank God, we have it—Witness the Fleets of France and Spain, now cooped up in Brest harbour! Witness the mutilated and

capitulated Marine of Holland! Witness the brilliant and transcendent Victories of Lords Howe, St. Vincent, Duncan and Nelson! Witness that proud day for Old England, when the captured Colours of France, Spain and Holland, were deposited and consecrated in St. Paul's Cathedral, amid the blaze of Majesty, amid the joy and gladness, religion, enthusiasm and loyalty of the People,

Sir, are we fighting for the safety of our commerce? We, Sir, have monopolized almost the commerce of the whole world—Witness our ports (perhaps too much so) crowded with the ships of all the nations of the earth.

Can we be fearful for the safety of our territorial possessions in India? Here, Sir, I must say a few words on the FRENCH EXPEDITION TO EGYPT. I certainly, Sir, did, here in my place, predict its destination, and did pray for its discomfiture and annihilation: We have experienced the truth of the former; and know that, fortunately for the world, the latter has taken place.

Now, Sir, to ascertain the magnitude of this Expedition as to the British interests in India, I would refer the House to His Majesty's Speech, after the naval part only was happily destroyed. (*See Appendix, No. I. p. 37.*)

AGAIN, Sir, I must draw the atten-

tion of the House to His Majesty's Speech on the 24th of September 1799, after the accounts were received of the wonderful acts of prowess of Sir Sidney Smith and his brave comrades, and to whom, Sir, you know my good intentions; and I trust Government will anticipate any proposition of reward of mine on that subject.—(See *Appendix*, No. II. p. 38.)

But, Sir, since that wonderful siege of *Egypt* has taken place. Why, then, Sir, if the British interests in India were, according to the sentiments of His Majesty's Ministers, announced from the Throne to be “in that quarter in a state of solid and permanent security,”

what must they be now? But, Sir, if security does not exist *there* in full force, let us turn our eyes to INDIA herself, and contemplate the vigilance, decision and wisdom of the Governor-General, Lord Mornington, by whose prompt zeal and transcendent abilities, aided and supported by the military skill and valour of General Harris and his officers and men, the black Tyrant of Seringapatam, the most inveterate enemy of Great Britain, the tyger Tippoo Sultan, is laid low: and here I must again refer the House to His Majesty's Speech of 24th September 1799. (*See Appendix, No. III. p. 39.*)

Then, Sir, as to India, become the corner-stone of Great Britain, I hope

I do not presume too much when I express my most sanguine wishes, that the Right Honourable the Chancellor of the Exchequer will condescend to own the existence of his favorite basis of Peace, (and which I agree with him in thinking such,) SECURITY,

Now, with regard to Italy, as far as we are concerned, (I shall say more of her hereafter, when speaking of Austria)—we have, by the vast exertions of Admiral Lord Nelson and Commodore Trowbridge, re-enthroned the fugitive King of Naples; and we have, in fact, re-elected the Pope; and at this moment the Papal banner waves in triumph its proclamation of the re-establishment of the Romish Faith to its

numerous adherents scattered over the face of the Earth.

Are His Majesty's Ministers bent on the reinstatement of the Stadtholderian Government in Holland? I do not wish to remind the House of misfortunes; but we have tried that, and we know the result—everlasting disgrace to England and Russia, and no inquiry granted. God forbid any more *human-nature expeditions*, unless, if they should fail, we can bring the authors of such failure (let them be whom they may) to condign punishment!

Now, Sir, I trust we shall not hear any of His Majesty's Ministers contending that we are at war to extirpate

Jacobinism. That plague and pestilence, thank God! is extinct. God, Almighty God, "HATH BRUISED THE SERPENT'S HEAD."

THEN, again, Sir, I must ask the Minister seriously, for what object are we contending, but for the re-establishment of the ancient Government of France? Here, Sir, I hesitate not to aver, that I cannot discover that the existence of the present Government of France is incompatible with, or its destruction necessary to, the safety of this country. Sir, I see nothing in it that ought to preclude a negociation for Peace. Sir, I see quite the contrary. ENGLAND has not tried the faith of REPUBLICAN FRANCE: England has

had reason to know the perfidy and ambition of *Monarchical France*; to illustrate and elucidate which most fully and incontrovertibly, I shall desire the Clerk to read an Address to the Commons, of the date of April 19th, 1689. (*See Appendix, No. IV. p. 40.*)

Well, Sir, so much for the *Perfidy*, the *Ambition*, and the *Jacobinism* of *Monarchical France*!

Now, Sir, it will be necessary for my purpose, to shew the state of the War and the necessity of Peace, to go into the alliances and subsidies, as they have stood, and as they now stand, relatively to ourselves and the respective nations concerned: which I shall do with all

the brevity possible, and in as accurate a manner as my limited means and individual exertions will allow of.

On the 21st January 1794, copies of Conventions entered into between His Britannic Majesty, and the Emperor of Germany, the Kings of Prussia, Spain, Sicily, the Queen of Portugal, and the Landgraves of Hesse-Cassel and Baden, were laid on this Table !

Of these allies, PRUSSIA took our gold, and soon laid down her arms, and basely deserted us. A more detestable act of meanness never blackened the annals of History !

SPAIN, that miserable and inefficient

Government, soon fell into the possession of French counsels; and now her galleons serve to reward our brave tars; and their fleet, cooped up in Brest harbour (as I told you in my place it would be), proclaims her disgrace to the surrounding nations of the world.

Of the KING OF SICILY I have spoken.

The unfortunate and helpless QUEEN of PORTUGAL goes on in the confederacy.

The LANDGRAVES (if I mistake not) made peace in sympathy with the ELECTOR of HANOVER.

A word or two on *Austria*, generally called our GRAND ALLY.

On looking over His Majesty's Speeches during the War, I not only find occasionally (I will not on all occasions trouble the House with having them *read*, but *refer to them as I go along*) great and due encomiums on that Power, but I also find an interval, or rather exchange of praise, in favour of *Russia*; which interval and exchange of praise may fairly be traced to the defection of Austria after the Treaty of Campo-Formio, (which Treaty was signed on the 17th October 1797,) of which I shall speak again, and more fully, when I come to the Russian Treaty; but I must refer the

House here to His Majesty's Speeches on Nov. 2d, 1797, and Nov. 20th, 1798—
(See App. No. V. and VI. p. 53 and 59.)
 —in the former of which, not one word is to be found of the Austrians; and in the latter, not only not one word, but great stress is laid on the magnanimity (he then might deserve it!) of the Emperor of Russia: and here the House will not fail to recollect the fact, that Austria has taken our millions, and paid little or no interest for them. The House, I trust, and the Nation, will moreover never forget the Minister sending out of the Country to the Emperor the sum of £.1,200,000, while the Parliament was SITTING, and without asking the consent of Parliament; and that, furthermore, he took no in-

demnity for having thus violated the constitutional privileges of the House.

Gentlemen sometimes talk of the aggrandizing spirit of FRANCE: Let them, for one moment, look at AUSTRIA. Has she not all the lust of power that belongs to the most desperate ambition? Why, after the Campo-Formio Treaty, (by the secret articles of which we are taught to believe she bargained for the plunder of Venice, and of which Venice we have heard nothing since; and moreover, by which secret articles we are also taught to believe she acquiesced in the starvation of one of her own Germanic fortresses, Ehrenbreitstein)—why, I say, after the said Treaty, has she again consented to be subsidized by

BRITISH GOLD? Why but to promote her ambitious views, and add to her extension of territory! We all know her wishes as to SARDINIA. As to Italy, the conquests of BONAPARTE are all, save GENOA, gone; and, from the accounts which have reached us, perhaps at this moment she has completely routed the armies of SUCHET and MASSENA, and is in possession of Genoa. I humbly think, that she will, by her immense armies, destroy the balance of power in Europe, and DESPOTIZE over the Continent. Whence arose her quarrel with *Russia*, but that SUWARROW would not aid her inordinate ambition? and I maintain that we are now fostering her projects, to our own future evil; and, what is still worse,

we are absolutely pampering her with
SHOVEL-FULLS of BRITISH GOLD.—
So much for griping Austria !

I now come to a Convention between
His BRITANNIC MAJESTY and His
Majesty the EMPEROR OF ALL THE
RUSSIAS, signed at Petersburg in
June 1799—(and here, it is to be ob-
served, there was a Treaty, a provi-
sional one, to induce, but in vain, the
KING of PRUSSIA to take a part, signed
at Petersburg in December 1798)—
formed (I humbly imagine, and trust I
am borne out in the fact by the date of
His Majesty's Speech, and the SUB-
STANCE of it) after the defection of the
Emperor from the common cause. Not
one word therein on Austria. The

Treaty of Campo-Formio was signed on the 17th October 1797, and the date of His Majesty's first Speeches after this event is the 2d Nov. 1797.—(*See Appendix, No. V. p. 53.*)

The next in succession (quoted for a similar purpose on the head of Austria) is on the 20th November 1798. Not a word on Austria.—(*See Appendix, No. VII. p. 60.*)—And then comes some notice of Austria again, after the campaign (a very glorious one, no doubt,) in Italy: but what I wish the House to notice here is, the wonderful encomiums on the Emperor of Russia, concerning whose alliance, and the present state of it, I wish now to speak.—(*See Appendix, No. VIII. p. 66.*)

Before I proceed further in this Treaty, I will, by leave of the House, state, that at the time it was laid on this Table, I did propose its discussion, thinking it a very impolitic one. My reasons were founded partly on my own observation and thinking, and confirmed by a paper which I shall read to the House on this subject.—
(See Appendix, No. IX. p. 67.)---The only answer, however, that I or the Nation ever got to this proposition to discuss the Treaty, was an ADJOURNMENT, an UNPRECEDENTED ADJOURNMENT, for 3 months, on a Saturday at half past 12 o'clock. Such an adjournment I do not believe is to be found in any one History of England; and, until lately, no more has been heard of the Emperor PAUL.

Now, Sir, if any faith is to be placed in Proclamations and Manifestoes, (I confess I place none myself since the famous Brunswick one,) no Potentate ever had a greater claim to confidence from his Allies than the Emperor PAUL. But how stands the fact? He has certainly performed the part as to Austria (till the quarrel commenced); but then we paid him for it. What has he done for *us*? Where is he now? How stands the fact as to England? He has had his rotten ships docked, he has had his soldiers put into barracks at Jersey, at an expence to England of not less than thirty-five thousand pounds.

In the course of the winter, a most able, experienced and gallant Officer,

Sir HOME POPHAM, has been sent with a suite of Officers to navigate his ships (a plan I dislike on the principle of the paper I read), and, I take it for granted, with some more British gold: and further, if I am rightly informed, this embassy has not been received; the credentials unaccepted; and an audience refused. Nay, further—if I am rightly informed, the resident Ambassador (Lord Whitworth), is ordered home most peremptorily. I again ask, where is this mighty Paul? where is this mighty, mercenary MONOCRAT, Paul the First? ABIIT, EXCESSIT, EVASIT, ERUPIT,

He march to *Paris*! he meant to go to *Malta*!—He rebuild the *Bastile*!

he meant to proclaim himself in *Cor-*
sica ! and, perhaps, in a deliberate act
of mercy, to convert it into a *mild*
Siberia !—He re-enthroned the BOUR-
BONS ! he pants to enthrone himself in
India !—The next account I expect to
hear of him is, that he has formed a
strict alliance with BONAPARTE, and
is marching to attack *Constantinople* ;
for we know that the Family on the
Throne of the Russias have ever che-
rished the idea that *Constantinople* is
a part of their inheritance. But I ought
to be cautious how I speak against this
Emperor PAUL, whose virtues have en-
titled him to become the theme of a
most brilliant and beautiful Poem, beau-
tifully bound, and fit for the libraries

of Kings, or to be kept in cotton in the port-folios of Ministers!

FURTHER, as to Treaties—Since the defection of Paul, His Britannic Majesty has entered into a Treaty with the ELECTOR PALATINE of BAVARIA, signed at Munich, March 16, 1800; whereby he is to place, at the disposition of His Majesty, 12 or perhaps 20,000 men. I certainly think some of the articles very odd, but shall not discuss them now. If I may guess, moreover, from the answer which the Right Honourable the Chancellor of the Exchequer gave me to a question I took the liberty of putting to him concerning the army of Condé a few days since, we have also subsidized the CONDEANS!

More British gold! His Majesty's Ministers appear to be the recruiting serjeants of Europe! But, Sir, before I go further, I will tell them, that there are some things accomplishable by arms, and some which no human force can accomplish. You may ram down an UNION, you may ram down a BOURBON TAX, with bayonets; but, with Austrians, Hungarians, Portugueze, Neapolitans, Condeans, Vendean and Chouans, you cannot ram down ROYALTY in France. Moreover, I tell you, you ought not to try it: No book that ever I read on the Law of Nations, justifies so violent a procedure.

Now, Sir, as to the evils of War, I shall say but little, as we all know them,

and lament them. But I must be allowed to say, that His Majesty's Ministers, Placemen, Pensioners, Contractors, and (as the great Lord CHATHAM most justly called them) Remitters and Clothiers, and the Blood-suckers of the Country, charge, as it were, in armour by virtue of their places, their pensions, their contracts, their premiums, and their JOBS; while the Country Gentlemen of England are shot through and through.

I must add, speaking of Ministers in general, that, of all people in the world, they are the worst judges of the calamities of War. In the sphere they move, and in the train of Majesty, they see nothing but gilded palaces, splendid

equipages, choice viands, gold and silver plate, PATRICIAN GALAS, and every thing that conveys magnificence and plenty. They cannot have any idea of the misery, the pinchings, the poverty, the grinding starvation, in many private, old and respectable families. BUT, at this present period, when it has pleased ALMIGHTY GOD to deny most of the nations of the earth their usual fruits, it is peculiarly incumbent on its Rulers to promote the ways of Peace. Above all, ENGLAND should shew the example: and I take the liberty of saying to His Majesty's Ministers, Contemplate the state of Europe; contemplate our sovereignty of the Seas, our prosperity of Commerce, our SECURITY in INDIA, the possession of almost all the Dutch

and French Colonies, the EXTERMINATION OF JACOBINISM; the ambition, the expence, and the selfish views, not to mention the SWINDLING, of some of our Allies: contemplate our internal strength, our universal loyalty, our unshaken religion, and our glorious constitution, impaired no doubt by the ravages of His Majesty's Ministers, but not quite SKELETONIZED: contemplate all these things; and then, in the name of God, carry not on the War until the People of England have nought to subsist on but (in the language of the Book of Common Prayer) the "BREAD OF TEARS!" And for what? why, to set up what I have heard called in this House the "old stool of the Monarchy of France," but what I take the liberty

of calling (in the language of the Book of Common Prayer) the "STOOL OF WICKEDNESS."

Save the 200 millions which the Minister (after having spent 200 millions) boasted he had got ready—save the blood of thousands! perhaps millions of your fellow creatures! Repeal the odious, terrible INCOME BOURBON TAX! Give us back the BULWARK of British liberty, our HABEAS CORPUS! Give us, in one word, in exchange for WAR and SCARCITY, PEACE and PLENTY!

But, as His Majesty's Ministers turn a deaf ear to Peace, let us prostrate ourselves at the feet of our GRACIOUS,

GOOD, VIRTUOUS AND RELIGIOUS SO-
VEREIGN, THE BEST OF MEN, IN WHOM
EVERY VIRTUE UNDER HEAVEN IS
CONCENTRED.

Finally, for the honour, and glory,
and character of England, let not the
CORNICAN BONAPARTE be the pacifi-
cator of the world: Let GEORGE THE
THIRD!

Sir, I have not strength left to thank
the House for their attention as I could
wish; but I do so most gratefully and
unfeignedly.

Sir, I shall now sit down with mov-
ing,

“ That an humble Address be presented to HIS MAJESTY, earnestly imploring HIS MAJESTY, that, taking into his Royal Consideration the heavy and unusual burthens, and the UNPRECEDENTED and INQUISITORIAL system of Taxation brought upon his loyal and affectionate People by the present calamitous War, he will be graciously pleased to attend to the humble prayer and advice of his faithful Commons, that the present War with the Republic of France may no longer be carried on for the unjust and impracticable purpose of restoring the House of BOURBON and the ancient Government of France: and that HIS MAJESTY will be graciously pleased no longer to listen to those Ministers, by whose counsels HIS MAJESTY has refused to treat with

the existing Government of France,
 but to declare himself willing to enter
 into an immediate negociation with
 the Enemy, for the purpose of effect-
 ing a safe and honourable PEACE, and
 restoring the tranquillity of EUROPE."

APPENDIX.

No. I.

*Extract from His Majesty's Speech to both
Houses of Parliament, Nov. 20, 1798.*

THE unexampled series of our naval triumphs has received fresh splendor from the memorable and decisive action in which a detachment of my Fleet, under the command of Rear-Admiral Lord Nelson, attacked and almost destroyed a superior force of the enemy, strengthened by every advantage of situation : by this great and brilliant victory, an enterprize of which the injustice, perfidy, and extravagance,

has fixed the attention of the world, and which was peculiarly directed against some of the most valuable interests of the British Empire, has, in the first instance, been turned to the confusion of its authors; and the blow thus given to the power and influence of France, has afforded an opening which, if improved by suitable exertions on the part of other Powers, may lead to the general deliverance of Europe.

No. II.

Extract from His Majesty's Speech,

Sept. 24, 1799.

The French expedition to Egypt has been continued to be productive of calamity and disgrace to our enemies, while its ultimate views against our Eastern possessions have been utterly confounded. The desperate attempt which they have

lately made to extricate themselves from their difficulties, has been defeated by the courage of the Turkish forces, directed by the skill and animated by the heroism of a British Officer, with a small portion of my naval force under his command; and the overthrow of that restless and perfidious Power, who, instigated by the artifices and deluded by the promises of the French, had entered into their ambitious and destructive projects in India, has placed the British interests in that quarter in a state of solid and permanent security.

No. III.

*Another Extract from His Majesty's
Speech, Sept. 24, 1799.*

The vigilance, decision and wisdom of the Governor General in Council on this great and important occasion, and the

tried abilities and valour of the Commanders, Officers and troops employed under his direction, are entitled to my highest praise.

No. IV.

Address to His Majesty by the House of Commons, April 19, 1689.

We, your Majesty's most loyal subjects, the Commons of England in Parliament assembled, having taken into our most serious consideration the condition and state of this nation, in respect of France, and foreign alliances, in order to which we have examined the mischiefs brought upon Christendom, in late years, by the French King, who, without any respect to justice, has, by fraud and force, endeavoured to subject it to an universal monarchy.

In prosecution of this design, so pernicious to the repose and safety of Europe, he has neglected none of those means, how indirect soever, which his ambition or avarice could suggest to him : the faith of treaties among all Princes, especially Christian Princes, ever held most inviolable, has never been able to restrain him, nor the solemnest oaths to bind him, when any occasion presented itself for extending the limits of his kingdom, or oppressing those whom his interest inclined him to qualify by the name of his enemies : Witness his haughty and groundless declaration of War against the States General of the United Provinces, in the year 1672 ; in which he assigned no other reason for disturbing that profound peace, which, through God's mercy, all Europe enjoyed at that time, but his own glory, and his resolution to punish the Dutch for some imaginary slights and disrespects, which

he would have had the world believe they had put upon him ; whereas the true occasion of that war was nothing else but a formed design, laid down and agreed upon by that King and his accomplices, for the subversion of the Liberties of Europe, and for abolishing the Commonwealth of Holland, as being too dangerous an example of Liberty to the subjects of the neighbouring Monarchs. The zeal for Catholic religion, which was pretended by him in this and the following wars, did afterwards sufficiently appear to the world to be no other than a cloak for his unmeasurable ambition ; for, at the same time, when the persecution grew hottest against the Protestants of France, letters were intercepted and published from him to Count Teckley, to give him the greatest encouragement, and promise him the utmost assistance in the war, which, in conjunction with the Turk, he then managed against the first

and greatest of all the Roman Catholic Princes.

Witness also the many open infractions of the treaties both of Aix-la-Chapelle and Nimeguen (whereof Your Majesty is the strongest guarantee), upon the most frivolous pretences imaginable, of which the most usual was that of dependencies; an invention set on foot on purpose to serve for a pretext of rupture with all his neighbours, unless they chose rather to satisfy his endless demands, by abandoning one place after another to his insatiable appetite of empire; and, for maintaining whereof, the two chambers of Metts and Brissach were erected, to find out and forge titles, and to invent equivocal constructions for eluding the plain meaning of treaties concluded and sworn with the greatest solemnity, than which nothing can be more sacred among mankind.

From hence it was, also, that Strasbourg was so infamously surprised by the French King, in a time of full peace: and though great conditions were agreed and promised to the inhabitants of that city, yet no sooner was he in possession of it, but all stipulations were forgotten; and that ancient free city doth now groan under the same yoke with the rest of that King's subjects.

The building the fort of Hunninghen, contrary to so many solemn assurances given to the Swisses, and the affair of Luxemburgh, are too well known to need a particular deduction: in a word, the whole series of the French King's actions, for many years last past, has been so ordered, as if it were his intention not only to render his own people extremely miserable, by intolerable impositions of taxes, to be employed in maintaining an incredible num-

ber of dragoons and other soldiers, to be the instruments of his cruelty upon such of them as refuse in all things to comply with his unjust demands; but likewise to hold all the neighbouring Powers in perpetual alarm and expense for the maintaining of armies and fleets, that they may be in a posture to defend themselves against the invader of their common safety and liberties.

Examples of this sort might be innumerable; but his invasion of Flanders and Holland since the last truce of 1684, and the outrages committed upon the Empire by attacking the fort of Philipsburgh without any declaration of war, at the time that his Imperial Majesty was employing all his forces against the common enemy of the Christian Faith; and his wasting the Palatinate with fire and sword, and murdering an infinite number of inno-

cent persons, for no other reason, as himself has publicly declared, but because he thought the Elector Palatine faithful to the interest of the Empire, and an obstacle to the compassing of his ambitious designs; are sufficient instances of this.

To these we cannot, but with a particular resentment, add the injuries done to Your Majesty, in the most unjust and violent seizing of your principality of Orange, and the utmost insolences committed upon the persons of Your Majesty's subjects there; and how, to facilitate his conquest upon his neighbour Princes, he engaged the Turks in a war against Christendom at the same time.

And, as if the violating of Treaties, and ravaging the countries of his neighbour states, were not sufficient means of

advancing his exorbitant power and greatness, he has constantly had recourse to the vilest and meanest acts, for the ruin of those whom he had taken upon him to subdue to his will and power; insinuating himself by his emissaries, under the sacred name and character of Public Ministers, into those who were intrusted in the government of kingdoms and states, suborning them by gifts and pensions, to the selling their masters, and betraying their trusts; and descending even to intrigues by women, who were sent or married into the countries of divers potent Princes, to lie as snakes in their bosoms to eat out their bowels, or to instil that poison into them that might prove the destruction of them and their countries: of which Poland, Savoy, and Spain, to mention no more at present, can give but too ample testimonies.

The insolent use he has made of his ill-

gotten greatness, has been as extravagant as the means of procuring it. For this, the single instance of Genoa may suffice; which, without the least notice, or any ground of a quarrel whatsoever, was bombarded by the French fleet; and the Doge, and four principal Senators of that free state, constrained in prison to humble themselves at that Monarch's feet, which, in the style of France, is called chastising Sovereigns for casting umbrage upon his greatness.

His practices against England have been of the same nature; and, by corrupt means, he has constantly, and with too much success, endeavoured to get such power in the court of England, in the time of King Charles the Second, and the late King James, as might, by degrees, undermine the government and true interest of this flourishing kingdom. Another art

which he has used to weaken England, and subject it to his designs, was, never to admit an equal balance of trade, nor consent to any just treaty or settlement of commerce; by which he promoted our ruin at our own charge.

When, from a just apprehension of this formidable growing power of France, the nation became zealous to right themselves, and the House of Commons, in the year 1677, being assured they should have an actual war against France, cheerfully raised a great sum of money, and an army as readily appeared to carry on the war, that interest of France had still power enough to render all this ineffectual, and to frustrate the nation of all their hopes and expectations.

Nor did France only render this desired war ineffectual, but had power

enough to make us practice their injustice and barbarity, by turning our force against our next neighbours, and assaulting their Smyrna fleet.

Nor were they more industrious, by corrupt means, to obtain this power, than careful, by the same ways, to support it: and knowing that from Parliaments only could probably proceed an obstruction to their secret practices, they attempted to make a bargain that they should not meet in such a time, in which they might hope to perfect their designs of enslaving the nation.

In the same confidence of this power, they violently seized upon part of Hudson's Bay; and, when the matter was complained of by the Company, and the injury offered to be proved, the best expedient France could find to cover their in-

justice, and prevent satisfaction, was to make use of their great interest in the Court of England to keep it from ever coming to be heard.

The French King, in pursuance of his usual methods of laying hold of any opportunity that might increase his power, and give disturbance to others, has now carried on an actual war in Ireland, sending thither a great number of Officers, with money, arms, and ammunition ; and, under the pretence of assisting the late King James, he has taken the government of affairs into his hands, by putting all officers into commands, and managing the whole business by his Ministers ; and has already begun to use the same cruelties and violence upon Your Majesty's subjects there, as he has lately practiced in his own dominions, and in all other places where he has got power enough to destroy.

Lastly, the French King's declaration of war against the Crown of Spain is wholly grounded upon its friendship to Your Majesty's Royal Person; and no other cause of denouncing war against it is therein alledged, than the resolutions taken in that Court to favour Your Majesty, whom he most injuriously terms the Usurper of England,; an insolence never enough to be resented and detested by Your Majesty's subjects.

After our humble representation of all these particulars to Your Majesty, if Your Majesty shall think fit to enter into a war against France, we humbly assure Your Majesty, that we will give you such assistance, in a Parliamentary way, as shall enable Your Majesty to support and go through the same; and we shall not doubt, but, by the blessing of God upon Your Majesty's prudent conduct, a stop may be

put to that growing greatness of the French King, which threatens all Christendom with no less than absolute slavery. The incredible quantity of innocent blood shed may be revenged; his oppressed neighbours restored to their just rights and possessions; Your Majesty's alliances, and the treaty of Nimeguen, supported to that degree that all Europe in general, and this nation in particular, may for ever have occasion to celebrate Your Majesty as the great maintainer of justice and liberty, and the overthrower of all violence, cruelty, and arbitrary power.

No. V.

His Majesty's Speech, Nov. 2, 1797.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

It is matter of great concern to me, that the earnest endeavours which I have con-

tinued to employ, since I last met you in Parliament, to restore to my subjects the blessings of Peace on secure and honourable terms, have unhappily been rendered ineffectual.

The declaration which I have caused to be published, and the other papers which I have directed to be laid before you, will, I am confident, abundantly prove to you, and to the world, that every step has been taken on my part which could tend to accelerate the conclusion of Peace, and that the long delay and final rupture of the negociation are solely to be ascribed to the evasive conduct, the unwarrantable pretensions, and the inordinate ambition of those with whom we have to contend, and, above all, to their inveterate animosity against these kingdoms.

I have the fullest reliance, under the blessing of Providence, on the vigour and

wisdom of your Counsels, and on the zeal, magnanimity, and courage of a great and free People, sensible that they are contending for their dearest interests, and determined to shew themselves worthy of the blessings which they are struggling to preserve.

Compelled as we are, by the most evident necessity, to persevere in the defence of all that is dear to us, till a more just and pacific spirit shall prevail on the part of the enemy, we have the satisfaction of knowing that we possess means and resources proportioned to the objects which are at stake. During the period of hostilities, and under the unavoidable pressure of accumulated burdens, our revenue has continued highly productive, our national industry has been extended, and our commerce has surpassed its former limits.

The public spirit of my People has been eminently displayed: my Troops, of every description, have acquired fresh claims to the esteem and admiration of their Country; and the repeated successes of my Navy over all our different enemies, have been recently crowned by the signal and decisive victory with which Providence has rewarded the exertions of my fleet under the command of Admiral Lord Duncan. No event could be attended with more important and beneficial consequences, or form a more brilliant addition to the numerous and heroic exploits which, in the course of the present war, have raised to a pitch hitherto unequalled the naval glory of the country.

Gentlemen of the House of
Commons,

I have directed the estimates for

the ensuing year to be laid before you. The state of the war, joined to the happy consequences of our recent success, will, I trust, admit of some diminution of expense consistently with the vigorous efforts which our situation indispensably requires. In considering what may be the best mode of defraying the heavy expense which will still be unavoidable, you will, I am persuaded, bear in mind, that the present crisis presents every motive to animate you to the most effectual and spirited exertions. The true value of any temporary sacrifices which you may find necessary for this purpose, can only be estimated by comparing them with the importance of supporting effectually our public credit, and convincing the enemy that, while we retain an ardent desire for the conclusion of Peace on safe and honourable terms, we possess the means, as well as the determination, to sup-

port with vigour this arduous contest, as long as it may be necessary for maintaining the safety, honour, and independence of these kingdoms.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

After the experience I have had of your loyalty and attachment to me, and of your anxious regard for the interests of my subjects, I have only to recommend to you a perseverance in the same principles and conduct.

The events of every day must more and more impress you with a just sense of the blessings which we derive from our civil and religious establishments, and which have so long distinguished us among all the nations of Europe. These blessings can only be preserved by inculcating and enforcing a due reverence and obedience to the laws, by repressing with promptitude every at-

tempt to disturb our internal tranquillity, and by maintaining inviolate that happy Constitution which we inherit from our ancestors on which the security and happiness of every class of my subjects essentially depend,

No. VI.

Extract from his Majesty's Speech,

Nov. 20, 1798,

The wisdom and magnanimity so eminently displayed at this conjuncture by the Emperor of Russia, and the decision and vigour of the Ottoman Porte, have shewn that those Powers are impressed with a just sense of the present crisis; and their example, joined to the disposition manifested almost universally in the different countries struggling under the yoke of France, must be a powerful encourage-

ment to other States to adopt that vigorous line of conduct which experience has proved to be alone consistent with security or honour.

No. VII.

His Majesty's Speech, Nov. 20, 1798.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The events which have taken place in the course of the present year, and the signal success which, by the blessing of Providence, has attended my arms, have been productive of the happiest consequences, and have essentially promoted the prosperity and glory of our Country.

The unexampled series of our naval triumphs has received fresh splendor from the memorable and decisive action in which a detachment of my fleet, under

the command of Rear-Admiral Lord Nelson, attacked and almost totally destroyed a superior force of the enemy, strengthened by every advantage of situation: By this great and brilliant victory, an enterprize of which the injustice, perfidy, and extravagance, had fixed the attention of the world, and which was peculiarly directed against some of the most valuable interests of the British Empire, has, in the first instance, been turned to the confusion of its authors; and the blow thus given to the power and influence of France has afforded an opening which, if improved by suitable exertions on the part of other Powers, may lead to the general deliverance of Europe.

The wisdom and magnanimity so eminently displayed at this conjuncture by the Emperor of Russia, and the decision and vigor of the Ottoman Porte, have

shewn that those Powers are impressed with a just sense of the present crisis : and their example, joined to the disposition manifested almost universally in the different countries struggling under the yoke of France, must be a powerful encouragement to other States to adopt that vigorous line of conduct which experience has proved to be alone consistent with security or honour.

The extent of our preparations at home, and the demonstrations of zeal and spirit among all ranks of my subjects, have deterred the enemy from attempting to execute their vain threat of invading the coasts of this kingdom. In Ireland the Rebellion which they had instigated has been curbed and repressed ; the troops which they landed for its support have been compelled to surrender ; and the armaments since destined for the same purpose

have, by the vigilance and activity of my squadrons, been captured or dispersed. The views and principles of those who, in concert with our inveterate enemy, have long planned the subversion of our Constitution, have been fully detected and exposed, and their treasons made manifest to the world. Those whom they had misled or seduced, must now be awakened to their duty; and a just sense of the miseries and horrors which these traitorous designs have produced, must impress on the minds of all my faithful subjects the necessity of continuing to repel with firmness every attack on the Laws and established Government of their country.

Gentlemen of the House of

Commons,

Under the unavoidable pressure of protracted war, it is a great satisfaction to me to observe, that the produce of the

public revenue has proved fully adequate to the increase of our permanent expenditure; that the national credit has been maintained and improved; and that the commerce and industry of my subjects have continued to increase and flourish in a degree hitherto unknown.

The situation in which we are placed, unhappily renders the continuance of heavy expenses indispensable for the public safety. But the state of our resources, and the good sense and public spirit which prevail through every part of my kingdom, will, I trust, enable you to provide the necessary supplies without essential inconvenience to my people, and with as little addition as possible to the permanent burdens of the State. The progress made towards such a system by the measures adopted in the last session, and the aid given to public credit by the plan for the

redemption of the land-tax, have been attended with the most beneficial effects, which you will, I am persuaded, omit no opportunity to confirm and improve.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I rely with confidence on the continuance of your exertions to enable me ultimately to conduct the great contest, in which we are engaged, to a safe and honourable conclusion.

We have surmounted many and great difficulties. Our perseverance in a just cause has been rewarded with distinguished success; and our present situation, compared with that of other countries, sufficiently proves how much, in a period of general danger and calamity, the security and happiness of the British nation have depended (under the blessing of Provi-

dence) on its own constancy, its energy,
and its virtue.

No. VIII.

Extract from His Majesty's Speech,

Sept. 24, 1799.

While you rejoice with me in the events which add so much lustre to the British character, you will, I am persuaded, as cordially join in the sentiments so justly due to the conduct of my good and faithful Ally, the Emperor of Russia. To his magnanimity and wisdom, directing to so many quarters of Europe the force of his extensive and powerful empire, we are in a great degree indebted for the success of our own efforts, as well as for the rapid and favourable change in the general situation of affairs. I have directed copies to be laid before you of those

engagements, which have consolidated and cemented a connection so consonant to the permanent interests of my Empire, and so important at the present moment to every part of the civilized world,

No. IX.

To the Editor of the Journal Du Commerce.

It appears that the English are not more fortunate in their Governors than we have hitherto been. One would almost think that Pitt must be too much devoted to Russia, or that his animosity against France renders him blind to the particular interests of his own country, and prevents him from seeing that the Russian Marine, supported and instructed in the English school, will soon ruin its mistress! How indeed is it possible to be-

lieve that a Sovereign possessed of thirty millions of subjects, immense forests, fertile mines of every kind, in a word, every thing necessary for tripling, in a short time, his Marine, already very formidable in the Baltic, and absolute mistress of the Black Sea and the Caspian, will limit his ambition to the bare possession of a few ports in the Mediterranean, without deriving advantage from them at the expense of the commerce of England, and turning his attention to the two Indies, where as yet, of all the Maritime Powers, he has acquired no footing? Is it possible that he will not direct his views to these objects, or to the Archipelago and Constantinople, which will be inclosed within his dominions, and where the Greeks are more numerous than the Turks? It is astonishing that this very obvious reflection has escaped the English, and that they should have had the credulity to

believe that a Prince like the Emperor of Russia will always prefer their subsidy to the source from whence they derive their riches! Another circumstance, which ought to excite the apprehensions of England, or rather of all Europe, is the legion of Malta, which Paul proposes to maintain at the expence of every State, and which he is desirous to reinforce by the addition of the company of Jesus. The conduct of this company is well known. We know that the very expensive Order of Malta was always of little use to the safety of the Mediterranean; and it has become entirely useless since the alliance of the Christian Powers with the Turks has become frequent. It can therefore be of no service but to the interests of Russia. It is true, that the Knights of Malta will not, like their co-adjutors the Jesuits, have the guidance of the consciences of men, and the management of education. But they

will form a body. They are of noble families, and devoted to celibacy; of course ambitious, capable of betraying their country to the interests of their Chief. The oath, indeed, which they take to this Hereditary Chief renders them suspicious in the eyes of those governments which have not forgotten the conduct of the Teutonic Order of the Knights of the Cross, and many others. Whatever may be the issue of the present war, it is certain that it will be disastrous to several members of the coalition, especially to England, which must sink within ten years under the burden of her debts, or under the ambition of Russia. She has no other means of safety but an alliance with the French and Dutch Republics.

LIST OF THE MINORITY

ON

MR. JONES'S MOTION FOR PEACE,

MAY 8, 1800.

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SIR W. PULTENEY,	R. B. ROBSON.

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Monthly Review, April.

